

The financial administration of the parish churches of Kronstadt (Braşov/Brassó) in the 16th century

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In this paper I discuss the the 16th century financial administration of the parish church of Kronstadt (Rom. Braşov, Hung. Brassó), one of the most important Transylvanian towns.¹ (In the town, where the Reformation was introduced in 1542, there was only one parish, but several churches, where in 1572 served 11 Lutheran priests.² Here I will not discuss the finances of the school and hospital, which seemingly had separate cash desks, although these institutions were partially controlled by the parish priest [and partially by the town magistrate],³ as the schoolmasters of the urban parish school of Kronstadt, like in other Hungarian towns, were

¹ For the history of this settlement, see: Harald Roth: Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen: eine kleine Stadtgeschichte. Köln–Weimar–Wien 2010; Gernot Nussbächer: Aus Urkunden und Chroniken. Beiträge zur siebenbürgischen Heimatkunde. Vols. 13–14. Kronstadt. Kronstadt 2013–2014; Gernot Nussbächer: Caietele Corona. Contribuții la istoria Braşovului. Caietele 1–5 într-un singur volum. Ediție îmbunătățită. Braşov 2016. This work was supported by the National Research, Development and Innovation Office – NKFIH under grant number 117026 PD.

² Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt. Vol. 8, part 2. Annales ecclesiastici 1556 (1531)–1706 (1763). Eds. Julius Gross, Gernot Nussbächer and Elisabeta Marin. Braşov–Heidelberg 2002 (henceforth: Q8), p. 72–73. For the history of Reformation in this town, see: Erich Roth: Die Reformation in Siebenbürgen. Ihr Verhältnis zu Wittenberg und zur Schweiz. Vol. 1. Der Durchbruch. Köln–Graz–Wien 1962 (= Siebenbürgisches Archiv 3. Folge 2), p. 56–155; Karl Reinerth: Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen in Siebenbürgen. Köln–Graz–Wien 1979 (= Studia Transylvanica 5), p. 45–133, 150–169; Zoltán Csepregi: Die Auffassung der Reformation bei Honterus und seinen Zeitgenossen. In: Humanismus in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen. Politik, Religion und Kunst im 16. Jahrhundert. Eds. Ulrich A. Wien and Krista Zach. Köln–Weimar–Wien 2004 (= Siebenbürgisches Archiv 37, Veröffentlichungen des IKGS 93), p. 1–18; Edit Szegedi: Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionalisierung im städtischen Kontext. Eine Fallstudie am Beispiel von Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen (ca. 1550–1680). In: Berichte und Beiträge des Geisteswissenschaftlichen Zentrums Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas an der Universität Leipzig. 2006. Heft 2. Leipzig 2006, p. 126–296; Ulrich Andreas Wien: Humanistische Stadtreformation in Kronstadt. Ihre Exponenten Johannes Honterus und Valentin Wagner. In: Idem: Siebenbürgen – Pionierregion der Religionsfreiheit: Luther, Honterus und die Wirkungen der Reformation. Bonn–Hermannstadt 2017 (= Academia der Evangelischen Akademie Neppendorf 15), p. 17–37.

³ I mention, however, one data regarding to the school, because it has also a clear ecclesiastical character: in 1532 the town have paid for the schoolmaster “in subsidium novae missae seu primitiarum flor. 2” Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen. Vol. 2. Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Kronstadt. Vol. 2. Rechnungen aus 1526–1540. Kronstadt 1889 (henceforth Q2), p. 238. For the history of the schools of Kronstadt, with data regarding to their administration and finances, see: Joseph Dück: Geschichte des Kronstädter Gymnasiums. Eine Festgabe zur dritten Säcularfeier desselben. Kronstadt 1845, p. 7–42; Franz Wilhelm Seraphin: Kronstädter Schulen vor der Reformation. In: Archiv N. F. 23 (1891), p. 747–797; Gernot Nussbächer, Die Honterusschule in den ersten Jahren ihres Bestehens. In: Idem: Aus Urkunden und Chroniken. Beiträge zur Siebenbürgischen Heimatkunde. Vol. 1. Bukarest 1981, p. 118–124; Gernot Nussbächer, Aus der Geschichte der Honterusschule (I–VIII) 1388–1600. In: Idem: Beiträge zur Honterus-Forschung 1991–2010. Vol. 3. Kronstadt–Heidelberg 2010, p. 76–119; Idem: Das neue Gebäude im Kloster. 450 Jahre Honterusschule. In: Idem: Honterus-Forschung 1991–2010, p. 139–142; Idem: Honterusschule und Reformation oder Reformation und Honterusschule. In: Idem: Honterus-Forschung 1991–2010, p. 143–157; Idem: Die Schulreform des Honterus und die Ausstrahlung der Honterusschule im 16. Jahrhundert. In: Idem: Honterus-Forschung 1991–2010, p. 158–170; Zsolt Simon: Financing culture in the Middle Ages: the Transylvanian Saxon towns’ municipalities. In: Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Şincai” Târgu Mureş 14 (2011), p. 255–269; Idem: A késő középkori erdélyi városok oktatásra fordított költségei [The late medieval Transylvanian towns’ expenses on education]. In: Tonk Sándor emlékönyv. Eds. Bogdándi Zsolt and Lupescu Makó Mária. Kolozsvár 2019. (forthcoming). For the hospital, see: Q2, p. 10–15 (the edition of an account of 1526–1527); Zsolt Simon: The Finances of the medieval Transylvanian Hospitals (manuscript).

elected by the towns' government with the agreement of the parish priest.⁴) The main sources of my investigation are the churchwarden accounts of 1529 (of the main church), 1560–1578 and 1592–1600 (of the Saint Bartholomew church), and the church inventories of 1544 and 1556.⁵ (I would like to mention that as far as I know, these sources are the single ones of this type, which remained from this settlement. According to my knowledge, 16th century Transylvanian urban churchwarden accounts have survived referring to Hermannstadt (Rom. Sibiu, Hung. Nagyszeben, a summary account concernig the period between 1505 and 1511), Bistritz (or Nösen, Rom. Bistrița, Hung. Beszterce, 1532–1540), and Klausenburg (Rom. Cluj-Napoca, Hung. Kolozsvár, seemingly a quite continous and unpublished series starting with the 1560s).⁶ Worth to mention that 16th century accounts of at least two Transylvanian village churches have survived as well, namely that of Senndorf (Rom. Jelna, Hung. Kiszsolna, 1455–1564), and of Roseln (Rom. Ruja, Hung. Rozsonda, 1571–1728).⁷) Because of the strong cooperation of Burzenland's (Rom. Țara Bârsei, Hung. Barcaság) parish priests in the framework of their administrative unit, named the chapter or deaconry of Burzenland, and because of the

⁴ István Mészáros: Az iskolaügy története Magyarországon 996–1771 között [The History of Schools in Hungary between 996 and 1771]. Budapest 1981, p. 131–135; Georg Daniel Teutsch: Über die ältesten Schulanfänge und damit gleichzeitige Bildungszustände in Hermannstadt. In: Archiv N. F. 10 (1872), p. 199–200; UB, vol. 5, nr. 2512, 2307, 2326. According to the Transylvanian Saxon Priests' synode of 1560 the school rector should be elected by the common consent and will of the parish priest and of the "senate". Teutsch: UB, vol. 2, p. 34.

⁵ These sources are edited in: Q2, p. 597–614. A register of the parish church of Kronstadt is mentioned in 1529 (registrum parochialis ecclesiae). Q2, p. 131. An inventory is frequently mentioned in the 16th century, and probably that of 1556, as in 1568 were said that the inventory states that the church of Honigberg (Rom. Hărman, Hung. Szászhermány) has 13 yokes of ploughland, exactly as the list of 1556 says. Q8, p. 13, 34, 39, 54, 59–60, 99, 116–117 (1564, 1567, Honigberg 1569, Petersberg 1571, Weidenbach 1574, Rothbach (Rom. Rotbav, Hung. Szászveresmart) 1576). In 1571 the parish of Petersberg had a register of the plough lands. Q8, p. 60.

⁶ The earliest source was edited and analyzed in: Simon Zsolt: The Late Medieval Churchwarden's Accounts of Sibiu / Hermannstadt (1505–1511). In: Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „G. Barițiu” – Series Historica 54 (2015). Supliment [2 (2015)], p. 67–87. The photos of the second, unedited account was indicated and given to me by my colleague, PhD András Péter Szabó.

⁷ Some parts of the first account are published and/or presented, commented in: Deutsche Sprachdenkmäler aus Siebenbürgen. Aus schriftlichen Quellen des zwölften bis sechzehnten Jahrhunderts. Ed. Friedrich Müller. Hermannstadt 1864, p. 120–122; Georg Adolf Schuller: Kleine kunstgeschichtliche Mitteilungen. In: Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde 33 (1910), p. 70–76; Friedrich Teutsch: Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Siebenbürgen. Hermannstadt 1921, p. 151–154, 157; Georg Adolf Schuller: Ein Blick in das Leben einer sächsischen Landeskommune vor der Reformation. In: Beiträge zur Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche A. B. Festschrift für Bischof Friedrich Teutsch zum 70. Geburtstage. Ed. Franz Michaelis. Hermannstadt 1922, p. 1–45. The accounts of Senndorf will be edited and investigated by another colleague of us, PhD Adinel Ciprian Dincă. Georg Adolf Schuller: Das älteste Rosler Kirchenrechnungsbuch (1571–1728). In: Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde 31 (1908), p. 55–59; Gernot Nussbächer: Im Kirchenrechnungsbuch. Zur Ortsgeschichte von Roseln im 16. Jahrhundert. In: Idem: Aus Urkunden und Chroniken. Beiträge zur siebenbürgischen Heimatkunde. Vol. 16. Kronstadt 1994, p. 129–132. Naturally, in 16th century Transylvania were written much more churchwarden accounts: according to the texts of the visitation of 1567 made in Burzenland chapter, the churchwardens should write in some registers the income from the lands dedicated to the church and from the burysings made outside the "castle", i. e. the fortified church, and they should give each year account about the income and expenditures in the presence of the pastors. On the basis of a princely mandate of 1590 the churchwardens of the District of Bistritz had to give an exact account about the church's income and goods, and they had to give the "things necessary for the divine cult, like wax and things like this". The churchwardens' of Bistritz chapter obligation to give account to the pastors about the income and expenses was ordered by the prince in 1592, too. An indirect source is from 1560, when the Transylvanian Lutheran synode allowed to the priests to maintain – when needed – one or several persons to make the parish revenues' accounts or calculations. Q8, p. 29; Teutsch: UB, vol. 1, p. 236–237; Teutsch: UB, vol. 2, p. 35.

interweaving of the parish's and town's administrations, I used the edited accounts of the deaconry (1551–1600) and of the town (1521–1550) as well.

In the medieval Roman Catholic towns of Europe the material fund dedicated to the construction, repair and maintain of the parish church building and of what belonged to it (churchyard, chapels, treasury, and so on), the so-called church fabric (*fabrica ecclesie*) was separated from the funds dedicated to the parish priest (*dos ecclesie*), and was administrated and controlled by the churchwardens (*vitricus*), elected by the urban communities.⁸

Nevertheless, the Transylvanian Saxon churches' assets and economic activity was supervised also during the chapter's yearly church visitations, when – according the *Kirchenordnung aller Deutschen in Sybembürge* of 1547 – the dean, together with a priest and “some” members of the civil magistrate had to muster the churches and their *dos*, and to look after that the churches' and parishes' inventories are everywhere enlisted and kept deposited in the treasury or in a similarly safe place.⁹ Accordingly, during the church visitation of Burzenland in 1564 and 1567 the judge of Kronstadt asked each parish priest of Burzenland, whether the magistrate defended the goods (obviously of the church), and how was paid attention to the inventory; the dean asked the magistrate, how was the parish priest's ecclesiastical and household management/government? How did he carry himself in the management of his household affairs? What kind of personnel have he in the church's and household's employment? Modest and honest ones? How are these paid? In 1564 it was also decided (it was not mentioned, by who) that the tithes should be given honestly for the pastors, “because the tithes are not of the peasants, but of the king, and nobody contribute – in this regard – from his own for the ministry's sustenance”. During the visitation of 1567 the judge of Kronstadt asked, whether the churchwardens have registered the income from the lands dedicated to the church, whether they gave each year account in the presence of the pastors about these incomes and expenses paid from these receipts, and whether the parishioners give correctly the tithes.¹⁰ (Further signs of the

⁸ For the medieval church fabric and churchwardens, see: Arnd Reitemeier: Pfarrkirchen in der Stadt des späten Mittelalters. Politik, Wirtschaft und Verwaltung (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beiheft 177), Stuttgart 2005; Charles Drew: Early Parochial Organisation: The Origins of the Office of Churchwarden, London 1954; Clive Burgess: Pre-Reformation Churchwardens' Accounts and Parish Government: Lessons from London and Bristol. In: English Historical Review 471 (2002), p. 306–332; Beat Kümin: Late Medieval Churchwardens' Accounts and Parish Government: Looking beyond London and Bristol. In: English Historical Review 119 (2004), p. 87–99; Kubinyi András: Plébánosválasztás és egyházközségi önkormányzat a középkori Magyarországon [Parson Election and Parish Autogovernment in Medieval Hungary]. In: idem: Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon [Prelates, Ecclesiastical Institutions and Religiosity in Medieval Hungary]. Budapest 1999 (= Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség könyvek 22), p. 282–285.

⁹ Teutsch: UB, vol. 1, p. 30–31. From 1550 on, the Kirchenordnung was mandatory for all the Transylvanian Saxon University's churches. Wien: Humanistische Stadtreformation, p. 35.

¹⁰ Q8, p. 13–14, 29–30. Moreover, the latter visitation was used in lay purposes as well, as a “biggest concern of the lay authorities” was to know the inhabitants' – seemingly lay – taxes, that the officials should have registers of all – probably lay – income and expenses, that the acquittances related to the accounts should be subscribed, and to know how the community give acquittance to the officials and the senate. Q8, p. 29. However, all these actions could have an ecclesiastical regard, too, as it is possible that the taxes paid by the parish priests were calculated on the basis of the lay taxes given by the given settlement. These visitations were discussed recently in: Ulrich Andreas Wien: Politik – Macht – Glaube. Kontroversen, Konflikte und Konsensbemühungen in Siebenbürgen zwischen Landeskirche und Nationsuniversität von der Mitte des 16. bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts. In: Idem: Pionierregion, p. 146–147.

lay authorities' important role in the church administration were that in 1571 the deaconry's statutes were compiled, and perhaps publicly approved and receipted, after the mature deliberation of "both", i. e. the lay and ecclesiastical offices,¹¹ and that during the vacancy of the parish priesthood the town judge took over the administrative duties: regarding 1544, a contemporary chronicler wrote only that between the departure of the old priest and the election of the new one, namely between 16 February and 22 April, the community left the parish's administration in charge of the town judge. A little bit more is known concerning the vacancy between 1557 and 1560, when the parish was governed by the town judge through some vicars and the parish's income were received by the judge.¹² In extraordinary cases, the deaconry disposed about the church assets: in 1567 ordered to the lay direction of Weidenbach to help two ill persons living in that village from both their and the church's lands incomes.¹³

After this small digression, I return to the churchwardens. The first mention of the parish church's wardens is from 1427, when three persons were denominated as "procuratores et vitricos ecclesiae parochialis Brassouiensis necnon societatis altaris corporis Christi eiusdem ecclesiae",¹⁴ so it is not very clear how many wardens the parish church had, and whether the altar had a warden or a procurator – I think that the parish had two wardens, and the third person was a procurator who managed the altar. Later data show that both the main and the Saint Bartholomew churches had two such officials each. (The hospital (church?) had also a churchwarden, first mentioned in 1498.¹⁵) On the basis that in the second half of the 16th century the churchwardens of the second church were audited by one to five "seniores" of their community, and by the priests of this and of the chief parish church, and once even a cup was sold with the consent of the latter priest, the finances of the smaller church was controlled by the chief parish church as well. The churchwardens of the Saint Bertholomew church usually hold their offices two or three consecutive years, and in each year at least one of them had held already this office before. Even some seniores appear as controllors during several consecutive years, and others were elected churchwardens after some years of auditing, but churchwardens became controllors as well (but I could not observe a system in the election of the new officers).¹⁶ All these measure were taken in order to ensure the continuity and the professionalism of the churchwardens' and of the controllors' work, namely that of the financial audit.

¹¹ Q8, p. 68. For the lay authorities's strong position in the Saxon chapters, see: Erich Roth: Die Reformation in Siebenbürgen. Ihr Verhältnis zu Wittenberg und zur Schweiz. Vol. 2. Von Honterus zur Augustana. Köln–Graz–Wien 1964 (= Siebenbürgisches Archiv 3. Folge 4), p. 73–75; Ulrich Andreas Wien: Reformation in Siebenbürgen. In: Pionierregion, p. 44–45, 47–48; Idem: Politik – Macht – Glaube, p. 146–147.

¹² Ist dem Herrn Hans Fux von der Gemein die Pafarr- und Kirchsorg befohlen worden zu verwalten, bis Gott einen frommen Seelensorger würde bescheeren; triennio vacavit sedes pastoralis Ecclesiae Coronensis, Johanne Benknero per vicarios Ecclesiam curante, et redditus percipiente. Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Brassó. Vol. 4. Chroniken und Tagebücher. Vol. 1. [1143–1867]. Brassó 1903 (henceforth Q4), p. p. 505; Chronicon Fuchsio–Lupino–Oltardinum, sive Annales Hungarici et Transylvanici, opera et studio ... Simonis Massae et Marci Fuchsii, nec non Christiani Lupini et Joannis Oltard ... concinnati, quibus ex lucubrationibus Andreae Gunesch ... , aliisque manuscriptis fidedignis quaedam adjecit Johannes Ziegler. Ed. Joseph Trausch. Vol. 1. Coronae 1847, p. 60.

¹³ Q8, p. 30.

¹⁴ UB, vol. 4, nr. 2012. The next mention I know is from 1475. Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen. Vol. 3. Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Kronstadt. Vol. 3. Rechnungen aus (1475) 1541–1550 (1571). Kronstadt 1896 (henceforth Q3), p. 616.

¹⁵ vitricus hospitalensis. Q3, p. 805; Spitals Vater (1528). Q2, p. 83.

¹⁶ The list of the auditors and churchwardens was compiled from the accounts of 1560–1600. Q8, p. 195–280.

After discussing the administrative aspects I will present the assets, the income and the expenses of the above mentioned churches. The earliest exact quantitative data regarding the assests are from 1529 and 1544, when the chief church of Kronstadt had 400 florins cash, and liturgical silverwares in weight of 387,5 marks (i. e. almost 100 kg), respectively.¹⁷ This quantity of silver valued 3100 florins, a very big sum, as it was equal with the yearly salary of 129 foot soldiers, and was comparable with the 3600 florins average yearly income of the municipality in the first quarter of the 16th century.¹⁸

In the second half of the 16th century the treasury of the church was in frequent change. In some cases the parish church commissioned somebody to reshape the existing liturgical tools, like in 1555, when the churchwardens gave to a goldsmith 32,5 marks silver in order to make a ewer and basin, and in 1556, when instead of the given out objects of 41 marks silver, estimated to 328 florins, the parish received 13 cups of 32 marks in a value of 394,5 florins. (The difference was accounted as a debt of the church.) Similar cases are noted in three further years, when in total 43 marks silver were given out (in 1559: 10, in 1564: 17, in 1571: 16 marks). In one case, in 1553, some liturgical tools were borrowed or maybe bought by the municipality, than reshaped, and partly given to a third part. In the mentioned year, from 46,66 marks silver six new cups were commissioned by the town judge, four of which in 1556 were presented to the queen and her son. Worth to mention, that in 1553 only a small part of these silverwares' value were paid, namely 22 florins, at least in the account there are no other mentions regarding the payment.¹⁹ This fact suggests that a part of the church treasury was used by the municipality in his own interest – although the *Kirchenordnung* of 1547 and a 1578 decree of the Burzenland chapter prohibited the use of the church goods for profane purposes (in 1590 and 1592 the prince ordered the same for the churchwardens and for the lay authorities of the District of Bistritz).²⁰

The above mentioned cases denote that between 1544 and 1571, i. e in a period of 28 years, 45% of the silver conscripted in the starting year, that is 173 marks or 70 kilograms of liturgical silverwares were – most probably totally – reshaped, and in a small part even not received back. The causes of the transformations are unclear – but I think that the main reason was that the church equipment demand of the new, Lutheran liturgy differed from the old, Roman Catholic

¹⁷ Q3, p. 249–250. The silverwares are presented also by: Theobald Wolf: Johannes Honterus, der Apostel Ungarns. Kronstadt 1894, p. 76–77; Ernst Kühlbrandt: Die ev[angelische] Stadtpfarrkirche A. B. in Kronstadt. Kronstadt 1927, p. 59. The silverwares' use in community's interests is mentioned by Gernot Nussbächer: Das Leben von Johannes Honterus (1498–1549). In: Idem: Beiträge zur Honterus-Forschung 1989–2004. Kronstadt–Heidelberg 2005, p. 93. A citizen of Kronstadt donated through his last will 37,5 marks “in clenodiis et argenteis” “in pios usus et praecipue pro missarum celebrationibus”, probably in the parish church. UB, vol. 6, nr. 3325 (quoted also by Géza Entz: Erdély építészete a 14–16. században [The Architecture of Transylvania in the 14th–16th Centuries], Kolozsvár 1996, p. 255).

¹⁸ Q3, p. 250 (silver price); Zsolt Simon: The finances of Braşov at the beginning of the sixteenth century. MA thesis at Central-Eropean University. Budapest 2006 (town's income).

¹⁹ Q3, p. 250–251.

²⁰ Teutsch: UB, vol. 1, p. 26, 236–237. However, in the second half of the 16th century Damasus Dürr complained that the lay authorities did take away cups and monstrances and other ecclesiastical goods. Ulrich Andreas Wien: Raumbezüge reformatorischer Predigt am Beispiel des Kleinpolder Pfarrers Damasus Dürr. In: Idem: Pionierregion, p. 72; Idem: Wirkungen des Calvinismus in Siebenbürgen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. In: Idem: Pionierregion, p. 99. For the use of church cups by the urban magistrates, with German analogies, see also: Evelin Wetter: Das vorreformatorische Erbe in der Ausstattung siebenbürgisch-sächsischer Pfarrkirchen A. B. Altarbildwerke – Vasa Sacra / Abendmahlsgerät – Paramente. In: Humanismus in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen, p. 32–33.

one, as e. g. in Protestant service one need bigger cups.²¹ These transformations probably implied a change in artistic style, as I think that the new silverwares were made in Renaissance style, and the old ones in Gothic style (although I assume that in these cases the stylistic innovation was a consequence, not a cause).

Naturally, the church building was equipped with furnitures and painted (most probably wooden) altars, and it probably was already decorated with carpets, but I have no 16th data regarding the number or the value of these things.²²

The church possessed several houses: one dedicated to the parish priest, another for the Hungarians' preachers (mentioned between 1491 and 1570, and in 1542, respectively),²³ a third one (according other testimonies, only a half or a third of it) was donated for the parish in 1464 or before; in 1463 half of three houses were donated by a citizen of Kronstadt "in pios usus et praecipue pro missarum celebrationibus", probably at least partly for the parish church, as this person donated in the same last will 20 florins for this church, 20 florins for the hospital's poors and 20 florins for the leprosy's leproser, respectively, 10 florins for the Dominicans of Kronstadt, and a piece of cloth for the Franciscans of Csíksomlyó (Germ. Schomlenberg, Rom. Șumuleu Ciuc).²⁴ The story of the church's 14 houses will be presented later.

As in the 16th century the Bartholomew church had 185 yokes of plough land, and in the 15th century the parish church of Hermannstadt 135 yokes,²⁵ it seems obvious that the mentioned parish church of Kronstadt had plough lands and maybe meadows as well.

The inventory of Saint Bartholomew church written in 1560 lists 185 yokes of plough land, nine pieces of liturgical silverwares, three chasubles, two cauldrons prized on 5 florins, one bell (? Hell), 35 florins cash, and three relatively new books: two works of Luther and one Bible in German language.²⁶ (In the quite improbable case the priest did not store some other books

²¹ Cf. Ziegler Bálint Ágnes: A brassói evangélikus főtemplom (Fekete templom) 18. századi újjáépítése. Felekezeti, politikai, rendi csoportidentitás kifejeződése egy újjászülető épületben [The 18th Century Reconstruction of the Lutheran Main Church (the Black Church) in Brassó]. PhD dissertation. Budapest 2012, p. 89–90. The relation between the cup size and religion was revealed to me by Prof. Ulrich Wien, whom I would like to thank this suggestion.

²² For the equipment of the church, see: Ibidem: p. 86–92.

²³ Entz: Erdély építészete a 14–16. században, p. 259; Q8, p. 3, 22, 103, 123 (1491, 1494, 1559, 1566, 1574, 1577); Q3, p. 602 (1543, house and cellar), Q2, p. 650 (1542). It is possible that the parish had a house dedicated for the bellringer, as the churches of Neustadt (Rom. Cristian, Hung. Keresztényfalva) had such a building, mentioned in 1573 and 1574. Q8, p. 84, 107.

²⁴ UB, vol. 6, nr. 3325, 3390 (quoted also by Entz: Erdély építészete a 14–16. században, p. 254–255).

²⁵ About the lands of the Bartholomew church see below. The parish churches of the other – more rural – settlements of Burzenland (and of other Transylvanian Saxon territories) had also lands: church lands (Kirchen-Land) were mentioned in Honigberg (1561), ploughlands in Weidenbach and in Honigberg (1567, 1569), ploughlands, hayland and fishpond in Petersberg (1571), meadow in Rothbach (1576), ploughlands; church lands; fishponds, ploughlands, meadows, gardens, storehouses, "etc.", respectively, in general regarding the Burzenland (1567; 1569, 1571–1572; 1571). Das Gerichtsbuch des Kronstädter Rates (1558–1580). Ed. Julia Derzsi. Kronstadt–Heidelberg 2016. (Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt 10), nr. 96, 354 (1561, 1569, 1571 [church lands]); Q8, p. 29, 30, 39, 59–60, 67, 75, 116. In 1559 there were mentioned plough lands and meadows of the parishes of the chapter of Schenk (Rom. Cincu, Hung. Senk), in 1595 a ploughland of the parish of BIRTHÄLM (Rom. Biertan, Hung. Berethalom – although its property right was contested by somebody), in 1596 the lands (agri), vineyards and horses of Bogeschdorf (Rom. Băgaciu, Hung. Szászbogács) chapter's parishes. Deutsch: UB, vol. 1, p. 171, 242–244.

²⁶ Q8, p. 194.

himself personally, this means that on one hand the church did not purchase too many books in the years that passed from the Reformation until 1560, and on the other hand in this period the church give up from the old, Roman Catholic books.) One can not say the exact value of these assets – I know only that in 1593 the silverwares inventoried in 1560 (except a chalice) had a mass of 8,4 marks (i. e. circa two kilograms) and were sold for 71,32 florins, which sum represented only 3% of the value of the chief parish's silverwares. In 1593 the church bought eight (yokes or pieces of?) plough lands for 36,25 florins.²⁷

Incomes of the ecclesiastical personnel

In 16th century Burzenland a priest, of course, had to deal first and foremost with spiritual issues, and not with economic problems: when in 1571 the pastor of Petersberg (Rom. Sânpetru, Hung. Barcaszentpéter) was confirmed, he had to declare that he did not choose the priesthood seeking the “shameful” (material) profit, but he made it from God's mandate, and that he will hold the priesthood in a way that before anything God's glory will be illustrated (illustratur), the church will be edified, and his and others' salvation will be propagated.²⁸ However, the parish priests could not avoid to do some economic activities, which will be discussed below; here I would like to say only that the parish priests had not only the moral obligation to protect their parish's property, but this was explicitly prescribed for the chaplain of the Saint Martin chapel of Kronstadt and for the parish priest of Scholten (Rom. Cenade, Hung. Szászcsanád) in their confirmation letter issued in 1454 by the dean of Burzenland and in 1599 by the Transylvanian prince, respectively.²⁹

The parish priest's most important income were the tithes. In Kronstadt, as in the whole Burzenland (and in most settlements of the Saxon University), the parish priest received the whole tithe.³⁰ The tithe was hired out, sold or/and consumed by the priests: according to the privilege of the chapter of Burzenland from 1507, the parish priest of Kronstadt had the right to transport into the town a quantity of wine necessary for his own, his chaplains' and his servants' needs, and to sell ten barrels without paying any fees (*sine aliqua solutione*).³¹ Probably the priests of Burzenland used to sold a part of their wine, as the synode of 1560 maintained their special calculation manner used at wine selling.³² The wine mentioned above should be tithe wine, similarly to the beverages given in the priest house to the priests assembling in matters of the chapter. In the latter cases, the wine, like the food eaten and the oat consumed then, were

²⁷ Q8, p. 199.

²⁸ Q8, p. 61. Cf. Q8, p. 87.

²⁹ bona eiusdem capellae non alienabis nec distrahas, sed alienata et distracta ad ius et proprietatem reduces iuxta posse; bona ecclesiae tuae non dilapidebis, imo dilapidata quoque et abalienata pro posse tuo recuperare et ad ius et proprietatem praescriptae ecclesiae reducere studebis. UB, vol. 5, nr. 2933; Teutsch: UB, vol. 1, 250.

³⁰ Georg Daniel Teutsch: Das Zehntrecht der evangelischen Landeskirche A. B. in Siebenbürgen. Eine rechtsgeschichtliche Abhandlung. Schässburg 1858, p. 14–15, 19–22, 54–59; Georg E[duard] Müller: Die deutschen Landkapitel in Siebenbürgen und ihre Dechanten 1192–1848. Ein rechtsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Landeskirche in Siebenbürgen. In: Archiv für siebenbürgische Landeskunde N. F. 48 (1934–36), p. 122–128, 135–136.

³¹ Iosephus Benkő: Milkovia, sive antiqui episcopatus Milkoviensis ... explanatio. Vol. 1. Vienna 1781, p. 161.

³² vendendorum vinorum rationem eam, quae apud Barcenses usitata est, retineri volumus. Teutsch: UB, vol. 2, p. 85. In 1570 it was mentioned the parish priest's of Wolkendorf (Rom. Vulcan, Hung. Szászvolkány) privilege of selling wine at Carnisprivium (Shrove Tuesday), and a reference on wine selling of that of Zeiden (Rom. Codlea, Hung. Feketehalom); in 1567 or before the parish priest of Weidenbach sold wine “beneath” the village's judge, which the deaconry hindered him. Q8, p. 30, 42–43.

paid by the chapter: in 1542 an unmentioned sum for wine, two lunches and one dinner, in 1543 4 gold florins and 8 pennies (denarii) for 3 lunches, 1 dinner and wine, in 1547 1,14 florins for a lunch and 20 pennies for wine, in 1548 and in 1549 97 and 38 pennies for food, respectively, in 1550 32 pennies for oat, in 1555 1,6 florins for wine and 2,91 florins for three lunches. (It is probably that in 1543 the 1,48 florins spent on food was given to the priest, too, as those 22 pennies, which were given to the priest's wife for spices.) During the visitation of the parish priest in 1541, fish were bought for 6 pennies.³³ In these cases the host's portion was probably reimbursed as well, therefore it's price should be booked as an income of the parish priest. The pastor had seldom some smaller incomes from selling other wares, too, like in 1532 an iron tube for the town, necessary for a well.³⁴ To return to the tithe's subject, I have found only one indication to its hiring out: it seems that in 1539 the townsfolk of Kronstadt rented the lamb tithe, as the senators gave 20 florins for the parish priest "for the reason of the lamb tithe".³⁵

I label as an income received from real properties or assets the yearly 16 florins received in 1547 and in 1549–1550 from the town because (ratione) of the mill of Simon Clomp, "according to the old testamentary fundation".³⁶ Taking into account that between 1506–1526 (except 1511) and between 1542 and 1550 the town disposed (also) of the mill (as the town stewards hired it out for different inhabitants of Kronstadt and they were who covered the repair expenses),³⁷ I assume that the 16 florins were the yearly rents paid by the town. This mill was probably donated in 1464 to the church by Simon Clomp's sister through her last will, and in this case the mill bears perhaps the name of an ancestor of the two siblings (not their father's, as this was Laurentius. Theoretically it is possible that the testator was the mentioned Simon Clomp, who in 1464 donated some other real properties for the Dominican monastery of Kronstadt [or an other family member with this name], but I think quite improbable that two brethren [or relatives] donated both a mill each for the same institution.)³⁸

Already in the first decades of the 16th century Kronstadt's magistrate paid irregularly different sums to some ecclesiastical persons: between 1521 and 1526 to the chaplain of the All Saints' chapel 16 florins, in 1529 only 4, in 1530 2 florins (it is possible that this dramatic decrease was caused by the war³⁹), in 1536 and in 1537 for the parish priest 50 florins (in the latter year the payment was made at the order of the judge and of jurors), in 1536 the town senators paid for "their" preacher 16 florins (because this latter served them for one year with his preaches), in 1541 the town gave for the preacher of the Hungarians 4 florins, in 1544 "as a sign of gratitude" 2 florins, in 1544 for three chaplains were given for ¾ – probably year (the unit of measure was

³³ Q3, p. 600–602, 609, 611, 613; Q8, p. 136–137.

³⁴ Q2, p. 241.

³⁵ ratione decimarum agnorum. Q2, p. 640–641.

³⁶ Q3, p. 424, 530, 584.

³⁷ Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen. Vol. 1. Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Kronstadt. Vol. 1. Rechnungen aus 1503–1526. Kronstadt 1886, p. 178, 181, 185, 189, 191, 194, 198, 201–202, 206, 212, 218, 220, 222, 225, 295, 373, 476, 543, 591, 634; Q2, p. 642, 649; Q3, p. 421, 459–460, 525–526, 577–578 (expenses, 1540, 1542–1543, 1547–1550), 594–596 (rent).

³⁸ For these donations and the affinity of the mentioned Clomps, see: UB, vol. 6, nr. 3344, 3350, 3354, 3405 (the first and the latter document is quoted also by Entz: Erdély építészete a 14–16. században, p. 254). A Simon Clompe/Clomppen paid taxes in Kronstadt until 1485. Q3, p. 617. (Simon Clomp mentioned in 1527–1540 and 1546 obviously was an other person. Q2, p. 703; Q3, p. 64.)

³⁹ This explanation was suggested by Prof. Ulrich Wien, whom I would like to express my thanks.

not written) – 39,38 florins, therefore it seems that each of these three persons should receive for a whole year in average 17,5 florins.⁴⁰

As in all these cases (except the chaplains') the payments appear only in two years, and because of the explanations made in 1536, 1537 and 1544, I would not name these payments regular salaries, especially in the preacher's case, who received two different sums and with a hiatus of three years. (However, I can not exclude that in the missing years the priests payment was booked in an other account, although I do not think this, especially because the salaries of the town's personnel (including the organist) were noted continuously in the same account type, of the stewards's.) Perhaps the mentioned payments were the first hesitating steps toward the introduction of the regular salaries' system, which in 1556 was already consolidated in Kronstadt. In that year the municipality had to give for the town priest 90 florins, for each of the 2 high and of the 2 early preachers (hoh and früh Prediger) 33 and 50 florins, respectively, for the Hungarian preacher 35 florins, for the cantor (cantor chori) 35 florins, and for the town priest 20 florins for the holy communion wine.

Between 1521 and 1550 the magistrate should pay a 40 florins yearly salary for the organist, and for the bellringer from 1521 until the second quarter (inclusive) of 1529 24 florins, and later on until 1550 (because he regulated the public clock(s), too) 28 florins. (For 1546 I found no data.) However – probably because of the high war expenses – in 1529 only 30 florins was paid for the organist, and in 1528 16 florins for the bellringer. In 1530 Wolfgang organist received only the first instalment of his salary (10 florins), and maybe later on he died or was not hired anymore, as in 27 November another musician, Hieronymus Ostermayer was employed as organist, who received for this year 5 florins from his 40 florins yearly salary (although for the period until the end of the year he should get only 3,85 florins).⁴¹ As mentioned below, the organist and the bellringer received as gratuity some smaller sums at the end of the year, usually together with the priests and the cantors three florins. In 1537 1 florin was given for the organist and for some schoolboys for singing at "the mass of the lords" (probably of the town jurors) at Saint Steven day, and for candles.⁴²

Sometimes it is mentioned that the bellringer served at the parish church, and as in 1527 for the bellringer of the Saint Bartholmew church 1 florin was given "in the name of his parish priest"

⁴⁰ Simon: The finances of Braşov, p. 76; Q2, p. 45, 177, 434, 442, 491, 645, 655. Here I did not take into the consideration what the priests did receive before they were elected into this office, e. g those gifts valuing 33,88 florins, which Johann Honterus, parish priest between 1544 and 1549, received in 1534 and 1535. Cf. G. D. Teutsch: Über Honterus und Kronstadt zu seiner Zeit. In: Archiv N. F. 13 (1876), p. 109, 145, note 59.

⁴¹ Simon: Financing culture, p. 258, 261, 266 (1521–1526). For the organist, see: Q2, p. 35, 41, 45, 54 (1527), 64, 71, 81, 82, 83 (1528), 132, 145, 178 (1529), 178–179, 235, 238, 289, 331, 384, 433, 501, 531, 640. For the bellringer, see: Q2, p. 32, 35, 41, 45, 55 (1527), 64, 70, 81 (1528), 132, 134, 144, (1529), 177–179, 182, 235, 238, 289, 331, 384, 433, 501, 531, 640 (1530–1545); Q3, p. 424, 464, 529–530, 584 (1547–1550). For 1532 it was typed erroneously 82 florins. Q2, p. 238. Orstermeyer's salary was presented also in: Q4, p. LXXXI. When the organist played not for the church, but in the town's or district's lay service, like in 1545 for the Ottoman and Moldavian envoys, he was paid in plus for this work. Ibidem, p. LXXXII. I have no logical explanation why the bellringer was not paid for the first quarter of 1528, why did he receive 2 florins after he got his second instalment (maybe for the first one?), and why did he receive 8 florins instead of 12 florins for the last two quarters (although the accounts state that he was paid totally for the third and fourth quarters), albeit it is probably that he served continuously in that year, as seemingly the same person was the bellringer during the whole year (at least in July and December he has the same name, Andreas, as in 1527 – it is true, in June 1528 it was not written down the name of the ringer).

⁴² Q2, p. 531 (the information is cited before this publication by Teutsch: Über Honterus, p. 108–109.)

for his last quarter, one can conclude that the town paid only the bellringer of the main church⁴³ – who seemingly received six more money as his colleague at the Bartholmew church. (I assume that the organist was probably employed at the parish church, too.) According to fourteenth-century chapter statutes, bellringers also had to perform certain tasks related to the mass in the church or around it (to clean, to carry books, to light the candles, etc.). Probably the urban bellringers had to do similar work, too, but for extraordinary events (e. g. on the occasions of royal visits or fairs) they got extra money from the municipality, as they did from the parishioners for ringing the bells at funerals.⁴⁴ (It happened that the town paid the bellringer for some works which had nothing to do with the church: in 1549 “for 1 register”, in 1550 for the town account were given 24 and 30 denars, respectively.⁴⁵)

After 1539 the town gave more or less regularly some small gratuities (*bibales*) for the parish priest’s auxiliary personnel: in 1539 for the “priests” (*presbiteri*), the organist, the schoolboys or teachers (*scholastici*) and the apothecary in total 8 florins, in 1543 for the priests, the organist, the schoolboy and bellringer 2 florins, in 1544 3 florins, in 1547–1550 for the priests, the cantors, the organist, and the bellringer 3–3 florins.⁴⁶ Except the pharmacist, these persons probably were paid for their contribution at the liturgy, perhaps at the mass held with the occasion of the magistrate’s yearly election, therefore in this case the *bibales* could be labeled as payments given for activities made above their obligation.

Another time the town gave gifts in order to stimulate the beneficiary, namely in 1532 cloth of 2 florins for the succentor “that he make the owed care”, and perhaps in 1536 a golden cup of 37 florins for the parish priest. The reason of the latter donation is unclear, as the account does not say why was this cup donated, it mentions only that it was given “during the confirmation” (in *confirmatione pro munere data*), but as Lukas Plecker served as parish priest of Kronstadt from 1535 until 1536, this gift was not related to the beginning of his service in the town. This can be said about the 10 florins given in 1537 for the new parish priest “for the parish house’s expenses” (in *expensas curiae plebani*), maybe as a sort of moving in money or as house renovation costs.⁴⁷ Two priests were financially aided by the magistrate to procure books: in 1533 the senators gave 25 florins as a “subsidy” to a preacher for some books, which were to be acquired and brought from Germany, in 1543 10 florins for another priest “because of the books which were to be bind”.⁴⁸

The Saint Martin chapel, according to the mass foundation made in 1390 and 1395 by king Sigismund, had to receive yearly from the town’s royal tax 40 gold florins.⁴⁹ The town had to

⁴³ *nomine sui rectoris dedimus ad rationem sui salarii ultimae angariae et est solutus in totum*. Q2, p. 49–50.

⁴⁴ Elek Benkő: *Erdély középkori harangjai és bronz keresztelőmedencéi* [Medieval Bells and Bronze Baptismal Fonts of Transylvania]. Budapest–Kolozsvár 2002, p. 70–79.

⁴⁵ Q3, p. 529, 583.

⁴⁶ Q2, p. 641, 655, 657; Q3, p. 424, 464, 530, 584.

⁴⁷ *Pro panno ad caligas ... dono dato, ut diligentiam debitam in ecclesia faciat*. Q2, p. 238, 432. For Lukas Plecker’s priesthood see: George Michael Gottlieb *von Herrmann*: *Das alte Kronstadt. Eine siebenbürgische Stadt- und Landesgeschichte bis 1800*. Eds. Bernhard Heigl and Thomas Şindilariu. Köln–Weimar–Wien 2010 (= *Schriften zur Landeskunde Siebenbürgens* 32), p. 339.

⁴⁸ *Michaeli presbyteri ad rationem librorum illigandorum*. Q2, p. 288–289, 294; Q3, p. 654.

⁴⁹ The endowment of 1395 was reconfirmed in 1427, 1455, and 1590. UB, vol. 3, nr. 1346. Cf. UB, vol. 4, nr. 2011, vol. 5, nr. 2459 (quoted by *Entz*: *Erdély építészete a 14–16. században*, p. 257), *Archiv der Honterusgemeinde*, I. E. 127. (In 1590 the prince said that the money was given by Sigismund “pro sacrorum celebratione et ministri eiusdem capellae alimonia”, and stipulated that the florins should be given for the “citizens” of Kronstadt, who should spend

paid yearly 28 more florins “for the Saint Martin mountain”, i. e. for the chapel constructed there, because of an “old” – obviously mass – foundation. (In 1529, 1531–1533, 1535–1536, 1539–1541, 1547–1550 the town did pay this sum, but in 1527 it gave only 25 florins, and in 1530 21 florins, although in this year it should theoretically pay 28 florins, as he gave three times 7 florins per quarter; I did not find the payment in the uncomplete edition of the accounts of 1534, 1537–1538, 1542–1546.⁵⁰) In 1533, 1536, 1540, 1547 it was mentioned that this payment was related to 14 houses of the “new street” (in 1533 it was specified that the houses were in the region of the Saint Peter monastery, in 1540 that in the street of Saint John). The story of this endowment can be found in a charter issued in 1520, where a town juror stated that Sigismund of Luxembourg (in an unspecified year) donated for the Saint Martin chapel a plot lying opposite to the mentioned monastery, where the chapel’s patrons and churchwarden constructed 14 houses and settled there settlers (colonos), whose yearly tax (census) of 7,84 florins was spent to finance some eternal masses in the chapel, and who were exempt to pay the extraordinary tax (taxa), but starting with the time of John of Hunyad, they had to pay the extraordinary taxes, and in 1520 Louis II donated these 14 houses’ taxes to finance masses.⁵¹ (This information, however, seem to be partly confuted by the mentions of 1532 and 1539, which say that the money was given from the tax of Martin day, i. e. the census, according to the foundation of the “ancient saint kings”; in 1531, 1535, 1541 and between 1547–1550 it was written only that the florins were given “from an old” foundation or from a foundation of the “saint kings”. It seems to me more logical that the endowment of 28 florins was not a part of the mass foundation of 40 florins, although I can not exclude this possibility, and it is also possible that the two old foundation were simply mixed up in the memories of the account writers or they were fused by Sigismund.)

Sometimes the priest had exceptional income. When the parish priest worked on the behalf of the deaconry or the town, the latters covered the costs emerged during the charge, usually the price of the consumed food and the traveling expenses: as the deaconry’s envoyee, in 1542 he spent for food together with an other priest 2,5 florins, and in 1543 he was exempted to pay the 2

the money on sacred goals, and not on profane ones.) The sum, however, was not always paid, as in 1488 and 1500 it was complained (first time it was said that “because of the tax collecting royal officials’ carelessness and “negligence” the money was not given to the parish priest for circa ten years, who did not receive anything from this chapel “except works and expenses”); in these years the kings ordered to be paid the emoluments. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Fényképgyűjtemény, Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény (The Hungarian National Archive, Photo Collection, Photo Collection of Medieval Charters, henceforth DF), 286602, 286609. (An authentic copy of 1511 of this latter charter: DF 286613.) In 1488 the ruler ordered to the town to pay from its taxes the 40 florins for the parish priest; in the charter of 1500 it was specified first time that the money had to be paid to the parish priest, second time that to the “citizens” of Kronstadt – so the chapel priest received his money from the parish priest, who got it from the town magistrate.

⁵⁰ Q2, p. 31, 42, 45, 144, 178, 235, 239, 294, 389, 433; Q3, p. 424, 463, 530, 584, 640, 642, 645. The data of 1532, 1535 and 1545 are published also in: Deutsch: Über Honterus, p. 143–144, note 55. Worth to mention that the Dominicans of Kronstadt received also a yearly sum from the Martin tax from a royal donation: from 1455 on ten, from 1462 on 12 silver marks, in 1532, 1538 and 1542 50 florins. UB, vol. 5, nr. 2992, vol. 6, nr. 3295 (both charters quoted also by Entz: Erdély építészete a 14–16. században, p. 257), Deutsch: Über Honterus, p. 108, 143–144, note 55. The favour made for ten marks silver was strenghtened by Mathias Corvinus and Wladislaw II and by István Báthory, too (in 1498 and in 1590). DF 286605; Archiv der Honterusgemeinde, I. E. 127.

⁵¹ DF 286628. (A simple copy of this charter, made in the 16th century: DF 286669.) A document of 1496 states that the 14 houses were donated by Sigismund, and that their census were granted to have a priest who should held weekly 3 masses. DF 286604. (The letter was reconfirmed in 1520 by Lajos II. DF 286629.) The donation of houses is contradicted by the chapel priest, who in 1443 said that he received from king Sigismund a deserted curia (where in 1443 already stood a ruined house, sold in that year for a third person; the court lied opposite to the mentioned monastery). UB, vol. 5, nr. 2459 (quoted also by Entz: Erdély építészete a 14–16. században, p. 257).

florins tax imposed upon each parish;⁵² in 1532 3 florins were given for a chaplain “to bring a succantor from Transylvania”⁵³ (these latter two sums were probably destined to cover all traveling expenses). The deaconry usually gave a carpet as a wedding gift for the pastors of Burzenland, and consequently in 1542 the parish priest of Kronstadt and in 1550 a concionator received one carpet each of 7 and 2 florins, respectively.⁵⁴ In 1542 the stewards have paid a carpenter, who trimmed some wood necessary for 2 mills, which stood in the house of the Hungarians’ preacher.

The parish priests elected for dean of Burzenland had some smaller and irregular income from this office as well. (The parish priests of Kronstadt hold the office of the Dean of Burzenland between 1551 and 1554, in 1556–1557, 1569–1570, 1580–1581 and 1598.⁵⁵). According to the statutes of 1444, the dean received one “big” wine for sealing a document, gifts usually of maximum one florin value when confirming, and one horse after the death of a parish priest of his deaconry. In 1547 it was decided that instead of this horse the deaconry should pay a “small gift” of 4 florins to recompensate his works, and in 1571 (or before) that the dean should receive for the confirmation of the priest’s testament and for the heirs’ protection 1 florin, “for seal” used in the chapter’s jurisdiction’s administration 4 pennies, and third part of the priests’ penalties.⁵⁶ However, this gift’s value sometimes was not 4 florins: in 1550 it was 3,5 florins.⁵⁷ The last information presented here is linked only indirectly to a priest, as in 1549 a parish priest’s widow received 100 florins from the town; this was given “as a sign of gratitude”, but for sure not only for the departed’s priest services, but also – mainly? – for Johann Honterus’ work done as the reformator of Kronstadt and perhaps as the (first) printer of the town.⁵⁸

Worth to mention that Kronstadt had further smaller expenses related to the church. A special type of expense was related to the new parish priest (in Kronstadt the parish priest was elected by the community⁵⁹): in 1536 at his election in the church there were thrown for the people coins in

⁵² Q3, p. 601, 603.

⁵³ Q2, p. 238.

⁵⁴ Q3, p. 600, 613.

⁵⁵ Q8, p. 2, 38, 130–132, 137–138, 164–165, 226, 229, 269; Archiv der Honterusgemeinde, I. E.108. (1554).

⁵⁶ UB, vol. 5, nr. 2512; Q8, p. 67, 68. (Some of these information were also presented also by Teutsch: Zehntrecht, p. 22; Theobald Wolf: Johannes Honterus, der Apostel Ungarns. Kronstadt 1894, p. 77.)

⁵⁷ Q3, p. 614.

⁵⁸ Q2, p. 650; Q3, p. 583. Worth to mention that in 1541 Honterus received from the town magistrate 50 florins for his “big and diligent works related to the learning good science and Christian religion for the town’s youngs”. Q2, p. 645 (quoted also by Binder, p. 259, Nussbächer: Das Leben von Honterus, p. 91).

⁵⁹ Teutsch: Zehntrecht, p. 14–15; UB, vol. 4, nr. 2051 (1428); Konrad Gündisch: Die “Geistliche Universität” der Sächsischen Kirchengemeinden im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. In: Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur in Siebenbürgen in der Frühen Neuzeit. Eds. Volker Leppin and Ulrich A. Wien. Stuttgart 2005. (= Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa 66), p. 112 (Protestant Saxons). For all of Hungary, see: Kubinyi: Plébánosválasztás, p. 271–282. Of course, the elected parish priest of Kronstadt had to be confirmed, and namely by the dean of Burzenland (who was the vicar of the archbishop of Esztergom), as e. g. in 1507 was stated in the statutes of the deaconry given by the archbishop; in 1454 the dean confirmed the chaplain of the Saint Martin chapel of Kronstadt. UB, vol. 5, nr. 2933; Benkő: Milkovia, p. 162. Cf. the statutes of the deaconry of 1444. UB, vol. 5, nr. 2512. 16th century data regarding the dean’s role in the confirmation of the parish priests of Burzenland: Q8, p. 6, 38–39, 59, 74, 83, 86, 116 (Kronstadt 1561, Honigberg 1569, Petersberg 1571, Zeiden 1572, 1576, Neustadt 1573 – however, in these cases the whole chapter took part in the confirmation, in the 1–2th and 4th case the judge and some jurors of Kronstadt, too; according to the events of 1561, the role of the lay authority was to testify again to the dean the election and its legality and regularity). 16th century data regarding the parish priest’s election by the

value of 4,35 florins (if these were all akçes, Ottoman silver coins used in Kronstadt as well, their number were 218, if they were halfpennies [obuli], 870), after which the new parish was led by two town jurors to Rosenau (Rom. Râșnov, Hung. Barcarozsnyó) to the dean of Burzenland; this trip costed 20 pennies. In 1530, when the new parish priest had to be confirmed, two jurors went to the nearby Marienburg (Rom. Feldioara, Hung. Földvár), for sure to the dean (this time the spendings were 1,18 florins).⁶⁰ In 1527 three persons went together with 4 familiares to Tartlau (Rom. Prejmer, Hung. Prázsmár) to ask the dean the confirmation of the newly elected parish priest (62 pennies were spent).⁶¹ These trips were related to the confirmation of the new parish priest, which had to be made by the dean, as the statutes of the deaconry of 1444 settled that the new parish priest should visit the dean with “eatable and drinkable gifts offered with pure generosity”.⁶² Coins were thrown in Kronstadt in 1561 and in Honigberg (Rom. Hărman, Hung. Szászhermány) in 1569, too. When in 1544 the new parish priest was elected, the magistrate distributed not coins, but wine, in value of 32 florins. It seems that this was a habit, as in 1571 it was interdicted to the elected parish priests to give to the lay parsons more than one barrel of wine.⁶³ Another time, in 1527 5 persons went with two cars to Honigberg to offer the (church) keys for the newly elected parish priest of Kronstadt, Paul Benkner (the cost was 72 pennies), who seemingly in that time served in Honigberg.

The churchwardens' revenues

In the second half of 1529 the income of the chief church's churchwardens (without the rest from the previous year) was almost 90 florins, and namely from Sunday mess donations resulted 14 florins, from funeral fees 59 florins, from donations made by last wills nine, and from church chair (or bench) fees seven florins⁶⁴ – in other words circa one quarter of the total income from donations and three quarter from fees. Since 1531, the parish church received from the town half of the town scale's revenues, which until 1540 varied between 13,28 and 17,66 florins per year.⁶⁵

Between 1560 and 1600, the Saint Bartholomew churchwarden's revenues in nature consisted mainly in wheat. As a data of 1560 shows it, this cereal came from renting the plough lands of the parish, a practice otherwise documented in the case of late medieval Hermannstadt, too. Worth to mention that the church did not sell all his grain, but it accumulated some quite

settlements' inhabitants (communitas, sometimes referred to as “ecclesia”) of Burzenland: Q8, p. 5–6, 38–39, 54, 59, 61, 86–87, 98, 127 (Kronstadt 1561, Honigberg 1569, Petersberg 1571, Neustadt 1573, Weidenbach 1574, Marienburg 1577). As the case of Petersberg in 1571 suggests, the smaller communitas of Burzenland, however, sometimes asked the help of the chapter when electing their new parish priest, and they were counseled by the dean to ask the chapter's and Kronstadt's council's advice, too. Q8, p. 54.

⁶⁰ In electione venerabilis domini Hieremie plebani pecunia in ecclesia in populum proiecta facit flor 4. asp 17 ½. Q2, p. 441, 193.

⁶¹ Q2, p. 34.

⁶² confirmandus reverenter suum visitet decanum cum esculento et poculento [correctly: poculento] mere liberalitate oblato, in quibus flor. Vngar. non excedat, nisi qualitas personae et quantitas praebendae pingvius munusculum appetteret non improbamur. UB, vol. 5, nr. 2512.

⁶³ Q8, p. 7, 40, 67; Q3, p. 218; Wolf: Honterus, p. 38. The data of 1544 was also presented by Nussbächer: Das Leben von Honterus, p. 92.

⁶⁴ Q2, p. 161–170. For chair (or bench) fees 2,64 florins were paid in cash and 3–4,2 florins in 30 pounds wax. For the price of one pound wax, see: Q2, p. 165–168.

⁶⁵ Q2, p. 698–700.

significant grain reserves, like the parish of Hermannstadt in the Middle Ages.⁶⁶ In 1561 and in 1563 it was noted that in these years the churchwardens' income came from cereal selling and the balance rest of the previous year. The data of the later years seems to prove this statement, namely that practically the only cash revenue of this parish came from selling corn. However, this church sold rarely some liturgical devices as well: in 1560 an old and used cup for 3,5 florins, and in 1593 those silverwares, which were no more used after the Reformation.⁶⁷ It is possible that the church had some income from the fees paid for the permission to be buried in the church, and to ensure a fix church bank, similarly to the Black Church, where this custom existed in the 17–18th centuries.⁶⁸ The churchwarden's cash income, including the rest from the previous year, usually varied between circa 30 and 80 florins. One can not say the net income; what I can say for sure, the cash in hand was not very significant, as it oscillated usually between approximatively 20 and 90 florins. An indirect argument of the fact, that this church was not a rich one, is that a yearly expenditure of circa 30 and 40 florins, respectively, was considered by the person who wrote the accounts as a heavy expense.⁶⁹

The comparison of the above presented two church budgets reveal an important difference between these two households, that is the head church had much bigger income than the other one: approximatively 300–400 florins versus maximum 30–40 florins, namely a ratio of circa ten to one, a proportion close to that calculated in the case of the silverwares's value. (Here I calculated with the maximum income – because for example in 1550, during a period of one month, the wardens of the chief church spent in total 20 florins, therefore in that year it was given out perhaps only 100 or 200 florins.)

The municipality has also spent some sums for ecclesiastical purposes, mainly on construction and repair of ecclesiastical buildings: in 1532 for the churchwarden 100 florins for the reconstruction of the vault of the parish church, for a certain Udalricus lapicida 2 florins for “his works to be made around the parish church”, in 1533 for the mentioned Udalricus 84 florins “for the prepared choir”, in 1534 for the churchwardens for the constructions of the arch of the town church 833 florins.⁷⁰ (Almost sure, the 600 florins given in 1533 by the senators to the wardens “for the use of the church”, or a big part of this sum, was intended to cover the same vaulting works.⁷¹) In 1535 the judge and the jurors gave for magister Udalricus as gratuity, because he

⁶⁶ 16th century data mentions that in Kronstadt cereals were deposited in granaries and chests: oat in wooden chest (*arca avenae vulgo haber kasten*), unspecified cereals in a granary, made of wood, with at least two doors, windows, a wooden structure named *Gerhast*, and – as the carpenters worked above a ditch – perhaps an underground hole (1532, 1547). Q2, p. 332; Q3, p. 412–414.

⁶⁷ Q8, p. 194, 198.

⁶⁸ Cf. Kühlbrandt, *Die Stadtpfarrkirche in Kronstadt*, p. 64–69, 74.

⁶⁹ Q8, p. 200.

⁷⁰ *Pro testudine chori de novo testudinandi; ad rationem laborum circa ecclesiam parochialem fiendorum* (1532); *ratione testudinis chori prae parati et totaliter consumpti* (1533); *aedituis ad aedificationem testudinis templi civitatis huius* (1534). The 833 florins was given in three dates (600 plus 200 plus 33 florins), and the last sum was given only to Vincencius, named as a warden of the parish church. Q2, p. 238, 286, 287, 288, 333, 334. The payment of the 200 and 600 florins was mentioned in a tax account, too, but here the first sum was given only to Vincencius. Q2, p. 288 (*in aedificationem testudinis ecclesiae parochialis beatae Mariae virginis; in aedificationem testudinis templi* (1534). For the history and description of the medieval church, with the mention of the data presented here, see: Kühlbrandt: *Die Stadtpfarrkirche in Kronstadt*, p. 10–11; Ziegler Bálint: *A brassói evangélikus főtemplom*, p. 35–80.

⁷¹ First 200 florins were given for the churchwardens (*in 18 November, for Georg Blesch and Vincentius Sartor, ecclesiae parochialis edituis in usu ecclesiae*), than 400 florins in 30 November (*edituis ecclesiae*). Q2, p. 287.

worked again at the arch of the church, in 1536 for this Udalricus 4 florins as a debt regarding his work made on the church choir vault.⁷² 1544 at the commission of the senators 100 florins were given to the churchwardens for the construction of the church, in 1545 137 florins, in 1548 25, the next year 962 florins.⁷³ In 1534 60 planks were bought by a widow for 1,8 florins for the church.⁷⁴ The small chapels required rarely the town's intervention: in 1534 the town had paid 80 pennies. for the churchwarden of Saint Nicholas church for beams and laths necessary to cover the Saint Nicholas chapel.⁷⁵

According to the Transylvanian Saxon Priests' synode of 1560, the restoration of the ruined and collapsed parish houses was the duty of the community, their maintain and conservation of the pastors, and if the pastor wished to construct "more than necessary edifices, like gardens, summerhouses and other things of this kind", the community had to bestow him timber.⁷⁶ In this sense spoke the dean in 1571 and in 1574 (in both cases referring to some articles of past church visitations and to the "reformatio"/ "Libellus Reformationis" (of Burzenland of 1543)). In 1577 the dean ordered to the people of Wolkendorf to provide their priest with a "convenient home (mansio)", according to the "reformatio".⁷⁷ Accordingly, in 1537 2,55 florins were given for 2500 nails, 14 pennies for 16 rings (circuli) and 1,25 florins for a window at the parish house, in 1543 1,8 florins to a mason for working 10 days in the court of the Saint Bartholomew parish priest and by the nuns, and for a stove foot for the pupils, in 1548 4 florins for 8 planks used to arrange the creek's shore by the parish priest's court;⁷⁸ once a small sum was spent on the organist's house: in 1538 24 pennies for 10 beams.⁷⁹

Smaller sums were spent on works related to the cemetery: in 1533 the town paid 21 pennies for 7 transports of timber to the cemetery, in 1547 18 pennies to move in another, unspecified place some big cornertones, and a bell in the cemetery, 1,6 florins to transport sand and stones to and fro the cemetery, "where a new edifice is", in 1548 1,86 florins to weigh a bell in the cemetery and for several other works, which were not related to the church.⁸⁰ Once, in 1532 the senate gave for a chaplain 20 florins to reconstruct the mill of the All Saints' chapel.⁸¹ The two transports of limestone/chalk, in a value of 1,4 florins, given in 1547 by the town for the

⁷² Quod testudinem ecclesiae de novo feliciter consummavit; magistro Vdalrico lapicidae dedimus, quos(!) ratione nomine testudinis chori ecclesiae parochialis debitorie obligati permansimus. Q2, p. 389, 432. For the activity of Udalricus, with the mention of these data, see: [Gyárfás Tihamér?]: Művészettörténeti adatok [Art historical data]. In: Batthyáneum 1 (1911), p. 116–117.

⁷³ Dominis aedituis dedimus ex commissione dominorum senatus pro aedificio templi (1544); ad aedificationem columnae ecclesiae aedificandae fl. 100 (1549). Q2, p. 656; Q3, p. 306, 465. In 1545 only regarding the first sum, of 50 florins, was mentioned the goal of the money, concerning the rest of 87 it was written only that the money was given to the churchwardens. Q3, p. 306.

⁷⁴ Der kyrchen[!] gekauft. Q2, p. 334.

⁷⁵ ad tegendum sacelli divi Nicolai. Q2, p. 331.

⁷⁶ Teutsch: UB, vol. 2, p. 34.

⁷⁷ Q8, p. 60, 98–99, 123–124. The parishioners' repair obligation was stressed also by the priest of Kleinpold, Damasus Dürr (ca. 1535–1585). *Wien: Raumbezüge reformatorischer Predigt*, p. 71.

⁷⁸ Q2, p. 497–498, 654; Q3, p. 525.

⁷⁹ Q2, p. 542.

⁸⁰ In 1548 further 0,54 florins was given to weigh a big bell, perhaps in the cemetery as well, but the location was not specified. Q2, p. 289; Q3, p. 422, 423, 459, 462.

⁸¹ The chapel or the mill was situated in the cemetery. Q2, p. 239.

churchwardens of Saint Bartholomew was also used at a construction, but one can not say anymore their final destination.⁸²

Expenses of the parish

In the next pages I will discuss the expenses, and first that of the churchwardens. In the second half of the 16th century the income of the Saint Bartholomew parish church's wardens oscillated between 10 and 40 florins. The sources mentions only four times, on what concrete purposes did they spent their money: in 1574 on the conservation of the church building and of "other public buildings", in 1599–1600 on the rebuilding of a granary and on the removal of a bridge lying near the granary.⁸³ In three years some small quantities of wax (4–8 pounds, c. 1–2 kilograms) were mentioned as a part of the church's assets. Maybe the wax was bought by the churchwardens, but I can not exclude an other possibility, i. e. that the parish received the wax as a donation. (Naturally, the wax was necessary to make candles, used in the Lutheran churches in Kronstadt.⁸⁴)

The situation was quite similar regarding the main church, where in the second half of 1529, except 30 florins spent on a golden cup given as a gift to the king and the 40 florins spent on wax and oil, most of the 180 florins expenses were given on the construction, repair and/or maintenance of the church building.⁸⁵

The churches' purchases from the town stewards show a similar picture, as they were related to constructions: in 1527 the parish priest and the churchwarden of Saint Bartholomew bought 2 millstones each for 5 florins each, the next year the parish priest two millstones for 10 florins, in 1537 the parish priest 16 nails for 11 pennies, in 1544 the parish priest 40 pieces of timber for 1,6 florins.⁸⁶ I suppose a much bigger construction expense for 1560, as in this year three houses were erected on the disengaged place resulted after the house's court was made smaller.⁸⁷

The churches had extraordinary expenses as well. In 1528 the town borrowed from the "church money" 120 florins,⁸⁸ surely in an emergency situation, as the florins were spent on soldiers in a war year. In 1547 the town's stewards received from the churchwardens 100 florins, which came from two villages belonging to the church: Zernescht (or Molkendorf, Rom. Zărnești, Hung. Zernyest) and (Alt-)Tohan (Rom. Tohan(ul Vechi), Hung. Tohán, today part of Zernescht). The basis of this was perhaps the fact that the church received these settlements, which were uprooted from the demesne of Törzburg (Rom. Bran, Hung. Töröcsvár) castle, with the obligation to pay 20

⁸² Q3, p. 422.

⁸³ Q8, p. 198–201.

⁸⁴ For the use of candles in the Lutheran churches of Burzenland and in Kleinpold (Rom. Apoldu de Jos, Hung. Kisapold), see: Hermann Jekeli: Die Bischöfe der evangelischen Kirche A. B. in Siebenbürgen. Part 1. Die Bischöfe der Jahre 1553–1867. Köln–Wien 1978. (= Schriften zur Landeskunde Siebenbürgens 2), p. 28; Wien: Raumbezüge reformatorischer Predigt, p. 72; Idem, Wirkungen des Calvinismus, p. 99.

⁸⁵ Q2, p. 165–169.

⁸⁶ Q2, p. 30, 54, 495, 657.

⁸⁷ Ist der Pfarrhof kleiner gemacht worden, und in die Stell drei Hauser gebaut worden. Q4, p. 522.

⁸⁸ Han mir [...] auss der kirchen gelt Enlent. Q2, p. 84.

gold florins for the fortress' chamberlain, and that the demesne was administrated by Kronstadt.⁸⁹

The priests' own expenditures are harder to reconstruct. Perhaps the most information remained regarding the different taxes they had to pay. As the chapter's 16th century accounts show, most of the taxes were paid commonly by the chapter's parish priests, similarly to the other Transylvanian Saxons chapters and deaconries. In other words: the taxes, which had to be paid by the parish priests of Burzenland to an authority higher than the chapter (discussed below), were first collected by the chapter, and paid further by the latter. The taxes levied by the chapter included also those intended to cover the chapter's own administrative expenses.⁹⁰ Depending the actual financial need, the priests of Burzenland had to pay a certain part of their "greater" tithes', decided by the chapter and expressed in 1/16 parts of the greater tithes.⁹¹

Burzenland contributed two types of ecclesiastical taxes: the cathedraticum and the unctionale. The first was the priest's financial obligation toward their bishop, in the case of Burzenland 40 florins due yearly to the archbishop of Esztergom (Germ. Gran).⁹² The part of Kronstadt I know only regarding four years: in 1540 it paid 25,34 florins, in 1544 25,32 florins, in 1484 and in 1584 22 florins, which represented 25,4% and 24,4% of the 99,76, 99,79 and 90 florins, respectively, collected from all parishes of Burzenland.⁹³ (As usual, a part of the collected sum was not spent on the declared goal: in 1544 52 pennies was given for the dean, 29 pennies for some wine, and 10 florins to repay a loan received from the judge's wife – in the first cases the exact reasons are unknown.) In the case I count with these percentages, the parish of this town had to pay yearly 9,76 and 10,16 florins, respectively, although I think that originally or theoretically Kronstadt's quota was the much more rounder ¼, equivalent with 10 florins. In any case, the 40 florins was repartited among the single parishes using a table written on the first page of the account of 1540, but I do not know how this table was made – what is sure, the quotas were similar, but not identical with those used when imposing the royal tax in 1540 on the settlements of Burzenland.⁹⁴

In 1540–1541 the parish of Kronstadt gave yearly 1 florin for the chapter as "unctionale",⁹⁵ a tax of which origin and rationale is unclear for me, although its name shows that it was linked somehow to the anointing: it may be hypothesized that it was paid as a tax for the blessing of the holy oil used in church (on the occasion of baptism, Unction of the Sick, priests's anointing). For me it is an open question, whether the disappearing of this type of income in 1542 can be linked to the introduction in the same year of the Lutheran faith in the churches of Kronstadt.

⁸⁹ Q3, p. 411. For the history of the two villages, see: Gernot Nussbächer: Date din trecutul localităților Zărnești și Tohan (secolele XIII–XVI) [Data from the past of Zărnești and Tohan (XIII–XVIth centuries)]. In: Cumidava 13 (1983), p. 57–61.

⁹⁰ Müller: Landkapitel, p. 105–117; Gündisch: Die "Geistliche Universität", p. 108; Wien: Politik – Macht – Glaube, p. 143–144.

⁹¹ The statutes of the deaconry of 1571, compiled on the basis of earlier regulations, says explicitly that the taxes (taxa et exactiones), with the exception of the cathedraticum, should be paid according to the estimations of the greater tithes. Q8, p. 68. The greater tithes were those levied upon cereals and wine. Teutsch: Zehntrecht, p. 59.

⁹² Müller: Landkapitel, p. 136–137; Q8, p. 128–129, 135, 150, 153, 160, 164, 169, 178, 184, 224, 227, 238–239, 252–253, 261.

⁹³ Q3, p. 599, 605; Müller: Landkapitel, p. 136–137.

⁹⁴ Q3, p. 597–598; Q2, p. 663.

⁹⁵ Q3, p. 599–600.

The priests of Burzenland had to pay taxes to the lay authorities as well, imposed by the rulers; the chapter's accounts rarely names the country's high ranking officials as the persons who ordered the tax (in 1540, 1554 the voivode(s), in 1548–1549 the treasurer), but in these cases for sure they only transmitted the ruler's mandate, as it happened in late medieval Hungary. These obligations were related usually to the country's or the town's defense. From 1558 onwards the Saxon priests had to transport the weapons and munitions of the Transylvanian army in time of war,⁹⁶ and in 1570–1571 and 1574 to help (together with the other Transylvanians) the construction of Grosswardein (Rom. Oradea, Hung. Nagyvárad) castle.⁹⁷ In 1559, 1572 and 1576 the pastors of Burzenland were constrained by the town council of Kronstadt to carry two or three days stones with carriages, horses and servants at the fortification works of the town.⁹⁸ In 1546–1547, 1550 it was generally said only that the money was necessary “for the realm's conservation” (*pro conservatione regni*).

The parish priests in Kronstadt obviously had to pay for their food, or at least for a part of it, and they had some expenses regarding to their daily life, too; it was already discussed that the deaconry statutes of 1571 indicate that priests bought wine.

Apart from the smaller and occasional expenses of hosting the chapter's priests assembly, mentioned above, I have found booked one extraordinary expenses of the parish priests: in 1542 the parish priest paid 15,5 florins “because of the money, with which the town judge was indebted for [an unspecified] house, from the request of a certain sir Anthonius” (as a rent?),⁹⁹ so this sum was in fact a loan given or repaid for the judge.

⁹⁶ Erdélyi országgyűlési emlékek / Monumenta comitialia regni Transylvaniae. Ed. Szilágyi Sándor. Vol. 2. Budapest 1876, p. 104 (1558). For this duty see also: Ibidem, p. 300, 303–304, 308, 313, 329–330 (1566–1567); *Deutsch*: UB, vol. 1, p. 191–192, 214–215, 218, 220, 222, 225, 241–242, 245 (1566–1567, 1575–1576, 1579, 1595–1596); referring to Burzenland only: Q8, p. 15–28, 31–33, 38, 69–70, 111–113, 116, 118–120 (1565–1567, 1569, 1572, 1575–1576). In 1566 Kronstadt had to give 6, then only 4 horses, in 1567 4, in 1576 3 horses.

⁹⁷ Q8, p. 45, 48–49, 51–52, 55, 97, 99.

⁹⁸ Q8, p. 2, 69, 76. In 1576 only those priests had this obligation, who had houses in the town.

⁹⁹ Q3, p. 601.